1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

744
751 In the four Southwest provinces, in 1947, there were 59 government health organizations at the provincial level, with 6,529 medical and health personnel. At the county level, there were 904 government health organizations.[1] As to preventive medical care, in the year 1946, 720,702 people received vaccinations against smallpox, 1,029,541 were inoculated against cholera, and 448,415 were inoculated against both cholera and typhoid by various government health agencies.[2] Statistical data are far from satisfactory for the presentation of a balanced picture of the health work and health conditions of the Southwest before 1949, particularly since figures for private practitioners and private institutions are not available; however, it is hoped that the few figures given above may serve as background. Furthermore, there are indications that all the achievements claimed by the Chinese Communist regime in health and sanitation are not completely new developments; many projects were begun under the Nationalist Government.

II. COMMUNIST OFFICIAL REPORTS

In July 1950, Ch'u T'u-nan, chairman of the Committee on Culture and Education of the

1. Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi Nien-chien [Statistical Yearbook of China], Nanking, Bureau of Statistics, 1948, pp. 341, 342, 344.
2. Ibid., p. 347.

744 751 Southwest Military and Administrative Region, made a progress report.[3] On the basis of incomplete statistics, he claimed that in 1950 there were in the Southwest 43 public hospitals with 2,935 beds, 79 private hospitals with 2,573 beds, 130 county health bureaus and over 1,800 clinics. He also claimed that there were 2,395 doctors practicing modern medicine, 409 doctor's assistants, 46 dentists, and 2,920 doctors practicing traditional Chinese medicine. Reporting on the subject of preventive measures, he stated that in the spring of 1950 there were 927,800 persons vaccinated against smallpox, including 540,000 who received the service free; for this work 1,179 medical workers were mobilized. For the prevention of cholera and typhoid, 3,500,000 units of vaccine were used. He reported that 1,055,000 persons were given free service in this campaign by late July 1950. [874] The report also disclosed that in the year 1949-50 seven new middle schools for the training of health workers, with a total enrollment of 1,100 students, were founded in the Southwest. In 1950, there were also 52 manufacturers of medical supplies in this region.

---

3. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien [Compendium of Government Reports], Peking Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1950, p. 199; Wen-chiao T'san-kao Tzu-liao [Reference Material on Culture and Education, Series No. 10], Peking, Committee on Culture and Education, 1950, pp. 335-36.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

744 751 Ch'u's report indicated that the Communist regime was placing emphasis on prevention of disease, on improvement and restoration of organizations of health and sanitation, development of health programs for women and children, organization of health and medical workers, and dissemination of health knowledge and education. All these points of emphasis seemed to be in conformity with the general policies on health and sanitation set forth by the Central People's Government in Peking.

Two years later, in September 1952, Lu Chih-chün, vice-chairman of the Health Department of the Southwest Region, spoke on "The Development of the People's Health Work in the Southwest in the Past Three Years."[4] He began with acknowledgment of the guidance given by the Party and the government, and went on to "prove" that noticeable achievements had been accomplished in the Southwest in accordance with the general principles set forth by the Central People's Government. Since one important aspect of health work undertaken by Communist China was disease-prevention, this report placed stress upon preventive measures and enumerated those taken against contagious diseases in the Southwest Region.

---

4. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, September 26, 1952, p. 3.

744
751 Smallpox headed the list. To combat the possibility of an epidemic, 50,000,000 people were reported to have been given vaccination in the three years covered by the report. As a result, the threat of smallpox was greatly reduced. In twelve important cities, Chungking, Chengtu, Pei-p'ei, Wanhsien, Tzu-kung, Nan-ch'ung, Nei-chiang, and Wu-t'ung-ch'iao in Szechwan Province, and in Hsia-kuan and Ho-k'ou in Yunnan; Tsun-i in Kweichow; and Ya-an in Sikang (now incorporated into Szechwan), there were no smallpox epidemics in 1952.

Recurrent fever was second on the list. In 1951, preventive medical corps were sent into many localities for the prevention and treatment of this disease. At the same time the public was alerted to check its spread by exterminating fleas. Thus in Lung-ch'ang, a special district of Szechwan, the number of sufferers from this disease in the spring of 1952 was claimed to be only 7 per cent of the number so afflicted in the spring of 1951. In Pi-chieh, a special district of Kweichow, the number of people affected by recurrent fever in March 1952 was half the number reported in March in the preceding year.

Only slightly less common causes of epidemics in the Southwest were typhoid and cholera. To combat these epidemics, the chief measures were the disinfection of drinking water

744 and the betterment of environmental hygiene.
751 Early preventive inoculations were also recommended. Lu Chih-chün claimed that there were no cases of cholera in the region and that the number of cases of typhoid had been greatly reduced.

Malaria was a common disease in the Southwest Region, according to the report. In addition to the promotion of environmental hygiene, malaria-prevention centers and malaria-prevention corps were established in the key cities in the four Southwestern provinces. Preventive centers for other local contagious diseases, such as bubonic plague and hookworm, were also established, according to Lu's report.

Referring to the improvement of health conditions in the Southwest, it was claimed that in large cities like Chungking and Chengtu that there were "fewer" people reported sick in 1952 than in 1951. Finally it was claimed that health centers had been established in 85 counties, and that the number of hospital beds in 1952 had been doubled since 1950.

III. WOMEN AND CHILDREN

744 At the First Session of the First National People's Congress (1954), Li Teh-ch'uan (General Feng Yü-hsiang's widow), Minister of

744 in 1952, and 68.75 per cent in 1953. Vaccinations and inoculations against smallpox, diphtheria, whooping cough, and tuberculosis were given
• [751] to children. In the three-year period, 56,197 children were given B.C.G. shots and 96,293 children received preventive care against whooping cough. In the city there were 125 nurseries (including feeding rooms), caring for some 6,000 children.[7]

IV. MINORITY NATIONALITIES

744 563 The Southwest Region, like the Central-South Region, has a number of minority peoples scattered throughout it. Cultural advancement programs conducted by the Communist government among these groups are often publicized by the press. The government believes that through education and medical work it can exercise a strong control over minority nationalities areas.[8]

744 563 164 In August 1951, the Ministry of Health called the National Conference on Health of the Minority Nationalities. In this conference it

7. New China Daily, June 2, 1953, p. 3.
8. Kung-fei K'ung-chih-hsia-ti Kuei-chou [Kweichow Under the Control of the Communists], The Sixth Section of the Central Committee of the Nationalist Party, 1955, p. 15.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF/6

From Na-ri we follow a narrow trail up and down, first high above the river, then in and out of ravines; the main road, however, leads on the west bank at an even grade. A few li bring us to the hamlet of Yun-gou where the ravine becomes very narrow and the stream enters a deep limestone gorge lined with Cupressus trees. Beyond the gorge on the east bank of the river is a huge limestone boulder which appears suspended over the stream, its lower surface being flat; hot water passes through the rock and flows from the flat under-surface as from a sieve. Limestone crags and mountains tower 2,000 feet above the river-bed, the slopes being covered with scrub oak and pines. The whole scenery is strange and dismal. 487* 133* 137*

At the end of the day's stage is the hamlet of Dshü-dzong situated on the east bank of the river. From this village the trail follows the clear stream, crosses two lateral affluents and ascends a rocky bluff. The trees on the lower slopes are all walnuts, while oaks and *Pinus yünnanensis* clothe the upper. We come to a cantilever bridge at the village of Ndo-sung (To-sung 奪松) on the east bank of the stream. The entire village consists of one large white house and a few log huts. We enter forest of pines and deciduous oaks in the broadening valley; mountains about 12,000 feet in height and composed of limestone rise to the east. The next village, called Sha-lon, in Chinese Sha-lung 沙龍, is situated on a hill in the valley. The Tibetan dialect spoken here is different from that of A-tun-tzu and Chung-tien. Three li beyond the village of Sha-lon, the trail leaves the main stream, enters a narrow valley and crosses the affluent which issues from it.

We follow on the top of the spur which separates it from the main stream to a small hamlet called Chao-to (Ch'ang-ta 昌大); five li beyond we reach the village of To-gu-ti the Chinese T'o-ko-ti 拖格底. Near the entrance to the village a gate was erected across the trail. It consisted of two pine trees connected by braided strands of bamboo from which wooden swords dipped in blood hung suspended. On inquiry I was informed that an epidemic was rampant among the horses in this village, and the swords, were to drive or keep out the demon which caused it. At the other end of the village was a similar gate, but from the bamboo rope swung the huge wooden penis of a horse. Not far from this village situated on the left bank, is the hamlet of Nin-yü, where another cantilever bridge spans the river. As the valley floors became broader and the land more suitable for agriculture, villages are also more frequent. 751● 487* 133* 137*

Two li bring us to the village of Ka-su, and a short distance beyond situated on a terrace is the village called Sa-gè-ti (Sheng-keng-ting 生更丁); here are limestone and black shales both much contorted. Walnuts grow along the river bank, the Tibetans, similarly to the Na-khi, use the oil for cooking. The trail crosses a rather large, flat cultivated area to a village called Sha-shao 沙哨 situated under a huge limestone bluff. Here a valley opens out into the Yon-dze-khà, from the right, or west, bringing a stream of considerable size from the eastern slopes of the mountains, which form the Mekong—Yangtze divide in the neighborhood of Yeh-chih. A trail leads up this valley and over the divide to the Mekong a little north of Yeh-chih. [252]

To the south of the valley is a high spur which Handel-Mazzetti on his map calls Ko-bu-dä — this is the Chinese Kuo-pu-te 過不得 (Cannot be

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

The wearing of ear-rings is supposed to help a child to live, as giving it something extra to hold on to. 852 782

Other objects thus carried on the cap or elsewhere on the person as preservatives are the image of Lao Tzŭ, or of the Eight Immortals 八仙 *pa hsien*; or of the the character 壽 *shou* longevity, with five bats *fu*, 蝠 (symbol for happiness, punningly for 福 *fu*); or 100 silver badges with *shou* 壽, wishing the child may living 100 years; or the image of sun and moon; or that of a bald, long-bearded old man.

Another way is to tie the hand, foot or neck with red, black or green cord. The knots used may be 72 in number, 36, 28 or 12, signifying the same as in a paragraph above. These cords are also worn by adults.

Boys who are expected to be good at business, or girls who, it is hoped, will be clever at needle-work, wear respectively an abacus 算盤 *suan p'an* and scissors 剪刀 *chien tao* as badges.

The image of the god of smallpox and measles 痘母神 *tou-mu shén*, is taken from door to door in a box by a very disreputable looking person. Women offer to it shoes, rice or money, and then expect their children will not succumb to these diseases. 751 852

Bridges and stone tablets 碑 *pei* are worshipped to gain their protection for children (see chapter on Passing crises); or a willow tree; this is a cheap wood, not much wanted, and the hope is that no spirits will want the child.

The length of time during which a child is suckled is three years. Some of course do not have so long, and a few have a longer time. One man I know, over 70 and very robust, regards his present good health as due to his mother nursing him till he was over six years old. The custom of three years of mourning for a parent is based on this three years' nursing. 853

As to infanticide, 丟兒溺女 *tiu êrh ni nü*: if male children are thrown out it is generally because they are illegitimate. Girls are drowned or starved by both rich and poor; by the rich, it is said, even more than by the poor. The rich suppose that a disproportionate number of girls shows the family stock is degenerating; the poor destroy 847

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Ssŭ kuan (四官) *ts'ai shên* is the god of wealth for the four seasons of the year. 776

Huo (活) *ts'ai shên.* The living god of wealth; a low-bred priest dressed up as a god of wealth. He wears a high-crowned hat. In one hand he carries a tray containing a piece of white metal, and in the other a palm-fibre whip; he visits the houses of the people from the fifteenth of the first moon till about *ch'ing ming*, using the whip to drive away the demons who hinder the prosperity of the family. He never speaks unless he is spoken to.

Yin hun chih kuei wei (淫昏之鬼爲) *ts'ai shên.* It is said that the demon of lust is the god of wealth; this is a wide-spread idea, hence the saying 笑貧不笑淫, They laugh at poverty, but not at lust, that is, they will get rich at any cost.

Wu cho (五濁) *shên.* The god of wealth is styled thus because in mammon worship all manner of wickedness is said to be included and permitted to the devotees; business men have a secret language for talking about their prices before their customers; cow and pig dealers put their hands up each other's sleeves and talk by signs, all to deceive people.

It has been said that Tao Chai (盜蹠), the younger brother of Liu Hsia hui (柳下惠), is the real god of wealth; but the common people have a saying which runs thus: 敬財神不如餂勾子, It is better to flatter the rich than worship the god of wealth. A foreigner is not infrequently styled the god of wealth because it is believed that foreigners wealth is unlimited.

Charms, Hua fu (畫符).

The charm to put over the door is made of paper or calico which is pasted or nailed up. Over the doors of headmen the writing is in large characters, common people use smaller. Yellow is the most common colour, but small charms often have a stripe of white running through them. In ancient times it was customary to nail a piece of peach-wood over the door at New Year time, believing that this 751 778

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

751 wood warded off demons. The present-day belief in charms probably arose from this custom and is very general, and the 778 superstition regarding them very deep; they are used in almost every phase of life.

Charms to be carried on the person are made up of all kinds of material, and worn on the shoulder, back or breast, to protect from disease, demons and every evil influence; even a cross is worn by Chinese children to prevent them from being kidnapped or harmed by foreigners. A few years ago there was a great anti-cigarette movement over an extended area in Ssŭch'uan; vile rumours were circulated about foreigners breaking graves and extracting skulls to make cigarettes, and doubtless many graves were tampered with by evilly disposed persons, whose chief object was to get the jade ornaments worn by aged persons when buried. The rumours also had it that foreigners were castrating children, and this caused thousands of children in our district alone to wear huge white crosses sewn on the backs, shoulders or breasts of their clothing. Some children wore two or even three of these cross charms to prevent foreigners touching them. The idea has become widely diffused that foreigners have a superstitious dread of the cross and will not trample on it, and I have seen lads run in front and write a cross on the r d and then stand aside to see if the foreigner would tread on it.

Shao hui t'un fu (燒灰吞符), the swallow-ashes charm. Another charm is commonly made up of incantations against demons, written on yellow paper. This is burned, the ashes mixed with clean water and swallowed.

Wu fang chên chai (五方鎮宅) *fu*, the charm which protects the five corners of the house. This charm concerns the living only, and is written on yellow paper and put at the four corners of the house, a fifth one being placed at the foot of the family altar in the centre of the room. It is believed to keep the house free from demons.

Wu fang tien mu (五方奠墓) *fu*, a charm for the five corners of a grave. This is prepared and burned by geomancers to give repose to the soul of the dead; it is buried at the four corners and at the foot of the tomb.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

751
778

There is a charm written by the descendants of Chang T'ien shih (張天師), of Lung hu shan (龍虎山) in Kiang-si; it is believed to be one of the most efficacious of charms for warding off demons and healing sickness.

There is also a charm written by Ling kuan (靈官). It is said that there are seventy-two idols bearing this name, all deified after the death of different individuals who, when living, had a reputation for driving out demons and warding off evil influences. This charm is widely used and almost universally believed in wherever I have had opportunity of observation; it is generally in the form of a picture, but is sometimes placed in a small box, with a spring lid, which being touched, the *ling kuan* flies out. This is a very fierce and dreadful looking thing, which is the chief reason for its being so widely used and universally trusted.

Chu yao chan kuai (誅妖斬怪) *fu*, the kill-ghost charm, is kept in haunted houses.

Chao ts'ai chü pao (招財聚寶) *fu*, the collect-wealth charm, is often made of yellow silk and hung in the centre of the chief room of the house, or it is painted yellow on white calico.

Hsueh fu (血符), the blood charm, is made by the sorcerer, who wounds his own brow and breast and lets the blood flow on to a piece of calico which is given to a sick person to wear on his body. At execution times people d calico into the blood of the victim, and wear it on their persons. Large cash are also taken and stained in the blood and worn as a protection against evil influences; this practice is most common among devotees of the Lo Lo and Honan chiao.

An t'ai (安胎) *fu*, the settle-fœtus charm, is used by women who fear miscarriage, or whose beds must be moved during pregnancy; it is mostly carried on the person or tied to the bed curtains, but sometimes it is burned and the ashes swallowed.

Ts'ui shêng (催生) *fu*, the hurry-birth charm. This charm is prepared by the midwife, burned, and the ashes

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

751
778

swallowed; it is used in cases of protracted labour where complications have set in.

T'ao (桃) *fu*, the peach-wood charm, which is hung up on the outside of the chief door of the house on the last day of the Chinese year, is simply a slip of peach-wood, but is widely used, being considered very effectual in driving away demons.

Ai (艾) *fu*, the artemisia charm, is used on the 5th of the 5th moon; it is a bunch of artemisia hung over the door of the dwelling-house to ward off evil.

Shan chi chao fu, the pheasant and mirror charm; a picture of a pheasant is hung in the house opposite a mirror, and when the demon comes and looks into the mirror he sees the pheasant, fears being pecked from behind and forthwith flees. This is said to be a very ancient charm.

T'ai shan shih kan tang (泰山石敢當) *fu*, the *t'ai shan* charm, or the stone warden charm. A stone from Mount T'ai in Shantung is believed to have great power in warding off demons, though any local hard stone may be used; on it will be written the above characters, "The stone from Mount T'ai dares to oppose." It is used on the streets especially at quick turnings where demons are likely to strike against it. It is largely used in country dwelling-houses and on public roads.

K'ai t'ien fu, the open-heaven charm, used in divination when the heavens are slow in response to the prayers of the family.

Chieh hui (解穢) *fu*, the purification charm, is used to purify an impure well or filthy water buckets, the charm being burned and the ashes dropped into these places. It is also used in silkworm culture at times when the silkworms become yellow instead of white, the ashes being scattered over them.

P'o yü (破獄) *fu*, the open-hell charm, used at wakes to burst open the gates of Hades and release the imprisoned soul. Then the call-spirit charm 招魂 *chao hun fu* is used, to help the soul out of Hades.

Lien hua (煉化) *fu*, the purge or purifying charm; also called the suicide charm. If anyone threatens to commit

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

suicide this charm is used to drive away the demon. It is also used after deaths to purge away the bad acts of the deceased. 751/778

Chao hsien fu, the call-fairy charm. It is said that each celestial has a particular charm.

Shê kuei (攝鬼) *fu*. The seize-demon charm is for haunted houses and is used both for wearing and for burning.

Ch'ien chiang (遣將) *fu*, the dispatch-general charm. It is believed that there are in the spirit world thirty-six *shuai* (帥) and seventy-two *chiang* (將) or generals; and this charm can command the help of all these to ward off an attack by evil spirits.

Wu kuei fu, the five-demon charm. It is believed that the four points of the compass have their particular evil influences and one which controls the centre. This charm wards off these evil influences.

Ch'i sha (七煞) *fu*, the seven baneful deaths charms. These seven deaths come from the following seven sources: heaven, earth, man, year, month, day, and hour.

San sha. The three baneful deaths come from the following sources, and are spoken of separately as *sui* (歲) *sha*, *ch'ieh* (刼) *sha*, *tsai* (災) *sha*, the evil influences of the year, robbery and calamity respectively.

Wu lei fu, the five-thunder charm, is used to break up an attack of ague or demon possession. It is burned and swallowed or worn on the person. The ague demons (擺子鬼) are said to be five in number, three cold and two hot; the two hot demons were originally named *mao* (毛), and the three cold ones named *chao* (趙). Legend has it that these five stole Lu pan's (魯班) hatchet and chisels and on being pursued, two fell into fire and were burned and three fell into the river and were drowned. The patient blackens the face, adding patches of red over the eyes and nose; a high cap is put on his head and he goes out with a club in his hand and stands motionless in an open place. Sometimes people who want medicine for ague dare not even whisper the name of *pai tzŭ* for fear that when they speak it, it will come; they will simply give a description of the disease and sometimes hardly

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

751 778 that. In some cases of ague a petition is lodged with the kitchen god, beseeching him to use his good offices.

The ague is known by these three names, *han ping kuei* (寒病鬼), *han hsia tzŭ* (瞎子), *han èrh ko* (二哥); the demon of the *han ping*, blind Han, Han number two, and is a serious sickness among the Chinese. When a person has it a staff is placed beside the wall and the sick man goes out and calls the demon, who, it is believed, takes the staff and walks out after him. When sitting in a house the custom is never to lean against the wall as this blind demon gropes around holding on to the wall and may get you.

Kuei shê (龜蛇) *fu*, the turtle and snake charm, or *shui ho fu*, the fire and water charm. The snake saves from flood and the turtle from fire; it is a picture of a red snake and a black turtle.

Chao yao ching (照妖鏡), illuminate-demon mirror, a round, brass mirror about five or six inches in diameter. It is worn by brides on the wedding day near the breast to frighten away demons who may accompany or meet them on the way; this is an ancient custom, but is dying out.

Chou hsien yin, or (虎符龍節) *hu fu lung chieh*. It is believed that the seal of the magistrate governs the demons to a depth of three feet below the surface of the ground. The proclamations issued with official seals are often defaced by cutting out the red seal mark. This is carried on the person to drive off demons. Most likely derived from the old-fashioned seals which had a tiger's head and a dragon's image on them; the seals of the present day do not have either. When a house is haunted it is not uncommon for a householder to beseech the official to stamp a few pieces of paper with his seal to hang up in the house.

P'ei ch'ih (佩赤) *fu*, to carry cinnabar red on the person, sometimes mixed with a medicinal preparation.

776 Door Gods (門神), *mên shén*.

There are many guardian spirits of doors of houses, offices, etc., as follows:

Wên and *wu mên shên*, the literary and military guardians of the door. These are put on the outside doors of dwelling

CHAPTER III

THE COMMUNITY IN DISTRESS

164 The cholera epidemic came to West Town as to other localities in the area from Hsia Kuan on the Burma Road, and spread with the stream of refugees that steadily flowed into the town and villages.(6) It affected a wide area. In West Town it began at about the beginning of the Fourth Moon (about the tenth of May, 1942) and ended at about the end of the same month (about the tenth of June, 1942). Only a few deaths occurred at first; then heavier tolls were taken of the population. For a period of time even in the town itself there were six or seven deaths a day. The price of coffins rose from five hundred dollars to two or three thousand dollars each, and later coffins were practically unobtainable. Carpenters worked day and night. Funeral processions of various kinds became a common every-day sight. At night the streets, unlike before the onset of the epidemic, were practically empty. Darkness and silence ruled everywhere except in carpenters' shops where much activity was in evidence.

A. Cholera Prayer Meetings

751 796 The authority of the missionary college urged its students and faculty members to be injected immediately when two cases of cholera appeared in the local hospital.[1] But the general populace took little notice of it until about the seventh of the month. Prayer meetings then took place one after another. Such meetings took place not only in the center of the town but also in all the surrounding villages. Within the confines of the town at least several areas had such prayer meetings, in two places twice. Some of these are big events, employing at least three Taoist priests and three or four musicians in addition to a larger number of volunteer ushers and officers from the area. Others are smaller events with only one priest and no musician, in addition to a small number of ushers and officers. In each case there is a big or small altar covered with canvas, on which are displayed tablets or pictures of the various gods, the priests paraphernalia and quantities of offering to the gods. In the case of the one-priest affair the meeting usually lasted for one or two days. The larger affairs lasted three days and four nights each. The author had opportunity to watch such prayer meetings in several surrounding villages in addition to the those in the town itself. The following list gives the area and villages according to the order of the appearance of the prayer meetings: (See Diagram, Names of areas being represented by alphabet letters, arabic numbers indicate order of appearance of the prayer meetings).[2]

Area or Village by Order of the Appearance of the Meeting.	Date (Lunar Calendar)	Number of Priests Engaged
1. A	7,8,9, 4th Moon	1 priest
2. B	About 9, 4th Moon	1 "
3. C	" 9, " "	1 "
4. D	8,9,10, " "	3 "
5. E	9,10, " "	1 "
6. F	10,11,12 " "	3 "
6. G	10,11, " "	1 "
7. H	12,13, " "	1 "

(6) When Burma fell.

[1] [ON the first of the month--Analyst]

[2] [See p. 10-- Analyst]

751
796

Area or Village by Order of the Appearance of the Meetings		Date (Lunar) Calendar		Number of Priests Engaged
8.	I	15,16,17,	4th Month	3 Priests
9.	J	16,17,18	" "	(T'an Ching only)
9.	K	16,17,18,19,	4th Moon	3 (with Wen God ceremony)
10.	L	21,22,	" "	1
11.	M	About 20,	" "	3
12.	N	22,23,24,	" "	3
12.	O	22,23,	" "	1
13.	H	23,24,25,	" "	5 (with Wen God ceremony)
14.	P	About 25,	" "	1
15.	Q (Prayer and the ceremony of receiving a special goddess)	25,26,27,	" "	3
16.	E	1,2,3	5th Moon	5

(Altogether nineteen meetings are here recorded. See Diagram for the approximate location of each area.)

A complete description of the rites involved in these prayer meetings is impossible in the present paper. The author proposes here to state in outline form only (1) the main points of the rites, (2) the cost of the meetings, and (3) the meaning of the prayers.

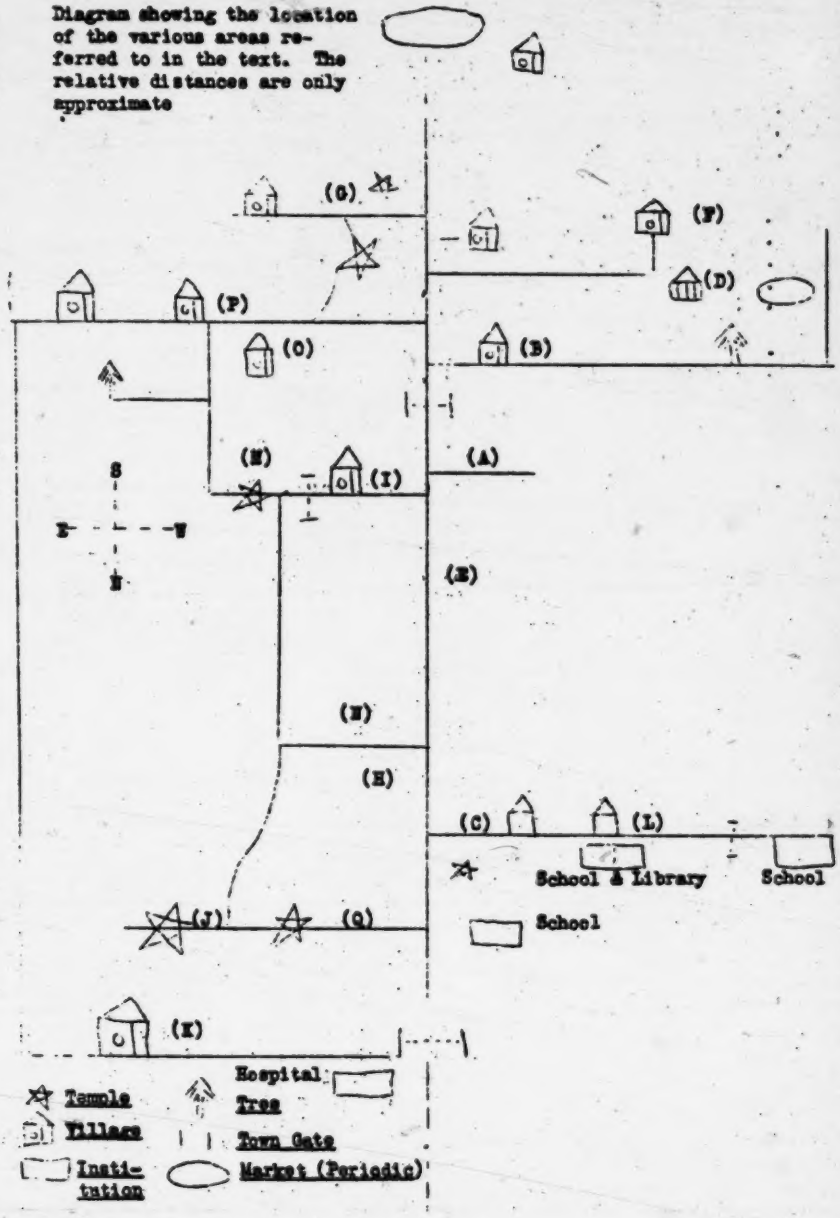
1. The Main Points of the Rites

The most important thing is the work of the priests in reading their scriptures, reciting incantations, and burning petitions to the gods. In the smaller one-priest affairs the reading and reciting is done by the priest alone, with the accompaniment of the sound of a "wood fish" or a bell. In the larger three-priest affairs this is done in singing and reciting. The singing is accompanied by cymbals, bugles, and stringed instruments played by three or four accompanists who often join in the priests' chorus. This is done by three or four priests taking turns or together, from about 7:00 in the morning to about 11:00 or 12:00 in the evening, stopping for meals or for a pipe. Petition papers are burned to the various gods at one time or another. The burning of such papers involves many strenuous duck steps made in succession by three priests so that their faces are covered with perspiration. Both the scriptures and the petitions state that the people of the locality have deep sins and know that the gods are now showing their anger, but respectfully and tremblingly request the gods to withdraw the punishment, and that the people promise to obey the superior spirits forever. On the second evening of the prayer meeting the chief priest assumes the dress of a chief monk and sits on a lotus flower-shaped seat fixed on a high platform; while many boys and men hold their immediate ancestors' (usually father or mother) paper tablets and gradually push the latter over a cloth "bridge" towards the chief priest, as the latter performs various rituals. This is the ritual of "sitting the lotus" and is for giving blessing to the souls who have died of sudden illness or accidents (as a matter of fact, mostly deaths due to the epidemic). The third night is signified by a ritual spreading of porridge and paper money to homeless (i.e., descendent-less) spirits who may be about the place, along the

[533]

751
796

Diagram showing the location of the various areas referred to in the text. The relative distances are only approximate



streets leading away from the center of the town to the outer highway. The fourth night is chiefly occupied by rituals concerned with the Wen God (or the God of Epidemics). This god can release and arrest all evil spirits causing any form of epidemics. On this night his image (made of paper on a bamboo frame, about 15 feet high) is carried about in a torch procession formed by the chief priest and music players through the various streets of the town and its surrounding villages. In this way the god will have collected all those evil spirits and at about 1:00 a.m. the image of the god and a dragon boat (also made of paper and bamboo framework) full of paper ingots, rice, and other things are ritually taken out to the main highway about three li west of the town and burned. The Wen or epidemic is then regarded as having been sent away. (Only two prayer meetings include this Wen God ceremony.)

The number of persons engaged in each of these affairs is impressive. In most cases the officers of a meeting are listed on a yellow sheet of paper and posted in advance on a wall near the meeting. The smallest number that came to the author's notice was about 12 and the largest number, as in a meeting which took place at Area I on the Diagram, was 77. A moderate list is as the following:

General Direction	10	Looking after offering	1
Management	8	Treasury	1
Receiving guests	1		
Looking after the food	1 or 2		
Worshipping on the altar	2	Inviting Guests	1
Arranging furniture	2	Cooking rice	3
In charge of incense and candles	1	Boiling tea	1
		Serving feast dishes	4-8
Looking after vinegar and charcoal	1	Serving tea	2-3
		Sprinkling porridge	2

The directors are elders or powerful personalities in the local area who do not actually have a close connection with the work of the meetings. The meetings are run by the managers, who are usually younger than the directors. It is difficult to form a clear picture as to who in fact sponsor these prayer meetings. In the Area I, e.g., some of the managers and elders got together and decided on the prayer meeting after a moment's discussion. In the Area E, one elder, who was later in the list of managers, was the moving spirit; discussion of some of the major points concerning the prayer meeting (such as the site) was first announced by him in a little yellow notice posted on the wall near the center of the street, and the others replied by calling upon him.

A scrutiny of some of the lists of officers in the various meetings reveals that generally speaking the managing, directing and worshipping duties are in the hands of elder persons, while the works (cooking, serving food, offering, etc.) are on the shoulders of the younger people, professional or otherwise. The duty of serving tea is always done by boys. But it will be wrong to say that the older people start these prayer meetings. The latter are in the tradition no less than the customary organization in agriculture. Different members of a family may have different duties in, as well as ideas regarding, the sowing and planting of rice, but none of them will have any doubt as to the time, necessity and usual manner of the sowing and planting. So it is with these prayer meetings. Such meetings are such a deep-rooted institution that adult members of the community are familiar with their out-

751 796 line to an amazing extent. The author had spoken to many local persons about these prayer meetings, in the beginning of the epidemic as well as after it was over. Not a single adult had any difficulty at all in grasping what was being asked about after the simplest possible reference was made.

In the above list two kinds of officers need a special word. First, the two officers who are in charge of Worshipping on the Altar. These are volunteers who take turns to kneel in front of the gods on the altar during the entire period of the priests' ritual activities. The man on such a duty holds with both of his hands in front of him a special incense bowl containing burning incense powder. In most meetings the duty falls on elderly people who are in the locality all the time. In the Area I, one of these officers was a clerk from the branch office of a governmentally owned savings bank in Paoshan, about 200 kilometers southwest of West Town on the Burma Road. He does not stay home normally. The idea is that he who is on this duty represents the community to show the gods the people's earnestness and sincerity in their appeal.

Secondly, from the latter part of the list it will be clear that there is some feasting. In regular prayer meetings of the community (for example on one of the birthdays of gods) the feasting is usually participated in by all members of the community who have joined the meeting. But in the cholera prayer meetings there is much less feasting. The priests and the music players have to be lavishly fed. So must be most of the volunteer officers. To visitors from this or other areas is served hot tea. Some of the volunteer tea-servers are pupils of the local middle school whose homes are located in the area in which the particular meeting had taken place.

On the walls near all such meetings, and in some cases on the walls of the entire area, are square posters of yellow paper with eight characters in red: "Pray and abstain from evils with all sincerity, clean up and avoid dirt absolutely." At the entrance to the larger prayer meetings, or at the ends of the street leading to them, are large couplets showing that good deeds and earnestness are essential for mobilizing the gods, or that the prayer meetings are a collective effort to propitiate the gods who may decide to forgive sins previously committed by the community.

2. Cost of the Prayer Meetings

556 796 In all the prayer meetings expenses are met by voluntary contributions. The managers send out emissaries to solicit contributions, but a large proportion of the contributors send their contributions in money or in kind before being asked at all. Generally within a local area everybody knows what everybody else is worth, and the contributions are as a general rule proportionate to one's ability to contribute. Sometimes social position in the locality determines the amount one contributes. When the meeting is over the income, with a detailed list of the names of contributors and amounts they have contributed, and expenditures are posted in a public place. Usually the list puts the larger contributor's names first, but again social position of the contributor may be the first consideration. A person's name may appear in the lists of contributors of several prayer meetings just as it may appear in the lists of officers of several prayer meetings. This is either because the person owns shops or houses in the several areas or because his social prestige is important to the success of the meetings in question. In some cases the sum of contribution does not seem to be related at all to the contributor's social position

Probably the cases are not large enough in number to draw definite conclusions from them. One thing, however, seems fairly certain. This is that, generally speaking, the men who have had experience with the outside world either as travellers or traders, or having read very much about it, or having had intimate contact with the ways of the outsider, tend to be more philosophical and detached about the prayer meetings. Some of them think that all outsiders regard such prayer meetings as superstitions and, in a tone of embarrassment, would not hesitate to brand them as such to the outsider, but in their relations within the community they have to remain faithful to the indigenous ways.

796 753 124

B. Other Measures to Combat the Epidemic

1. T'an Ching

751 782

The prayer meetings are not the only steps taken to ward off or conquer the epidemic. While the prayer meetings are being carried on here and there, other things happen as well. The first of these is T'an Ching, or ritual talk on the scriptures. The author is not clear as to the type of scriptures here referred to. On the platform where such exercises take place are the tablets or portraits of Confucius, Laotze and Buddha. The main event on this platform is the playing of music, both wind and string, by amateur volunteers. At intervals some read a kind of scripture which is usually Taoist and not Confucian. In one or two T'an Ching places the music consists of singing to the accompaniment of a three-stringed plucked instrument. They perform just like story singers.

In Area J, T'an Ching took the place of a prayer meeting. In Area H and Area P, it took place at the same time as the prayer meetings. In Area H, the T'an Ching platform is just back of the prayer altar, and in Area P it is opposite the prayer altar.

The explanation given for such T'an Ching meetings seems to be of two kinds: one is that the gods and spirits should be pleased, and to soothe them by some light music (Yu Yueh) is the best. The other explanation is more vague. Both T'an Ching and the prayer meetings are of the same effect - both for the good of the community. It is a gesture of man's repentance so that the gods will withdraw the Wen, or the epidemic, from the community. In more than half of the areas in which prayer meetings took place there were no T'an Ching meetings.

2. Volunteer Advertisements

203 757 278

Soon after the epidemic had started various hand-written or printed posters and advertisements began to appear in the streets. These are of two general categories - those giving actual medicine or methods of cure and those giving advice as regards the prevention of the disaster. The first kind is practically all medicinal and the second kind is mainly moral. Among the first category are either prescriptions for people to copy and then buy the medicine in any native dispensary, or notices of some ready-made mixture which will be given to applicants free of charge. The latter may be obtained from either a private home or a dispensary. The author has been able to collect different prescriptions and have them examined (1) from the point of view of modern medical knowledge with the aid of The Codex of Chinese Drugs(11)

278 757

(11) World Book Company, Shanghai, 1934.

203 757 A word is to be said about the sources of these medical and moral prescriptions. The moral ones are usually from some god who "spoke or wrote through a certain unsuspected medium, who lived in such and such a far away place" (only village name given, usually not checkable). The medical ones are of varied sources. One prescription states in the end thatit is from "a famous medical officer in the army", but neither the name of the officer nor the name of the disseminator is given. Another poster is signed by a man named Ho and states that the prescription is taken from the Morning Post, Kunming. A third, which is signed by the "Old man of later happiness", as mentioned before, states that the prescription was received from a fairy in the middle of the Ch'ing Dynasty during a great epidemic in Kuei Chow Province. The other prescriptions state no sources, but on inquiring the author was again and again told by the man in the street, "it is handed down to us from our ancestors or since generations past."

3. Individual Precautions

• 751 So far we have dealt with measures that are more or less communal. There are other measures of an individual or family nature, which may or may not bear on the community as a whole. When the epidemic becomes noticeable, practically all families do one of two things: either hang a palm-shaped cactus stalk over the portal to the family home or stamp one or more hand prints on the gates and walls. The latter are secured by dipping the hand in decomposed limestone and then pressing the palm against the object on which the print is desired. The idea behind this practice is simple: The Chinese name for palm-shaped cactus is Fairy Palm, and since the epidemic is caused by evil spirits, the sign of hands of fairies or superior deities will be enough to scare the disease-causing spirits away. The line hand prints serve the same purpose. There is also a similar but less common practice of drawing a long line on the walls of each family in their entire lengths. The idea about this is not so clear, but vaguely it is also to scare the spirits away.

A second practice is to draw a semi-circle with line powder connecting the two front lintels of the family portal. The author has not been able to ascertain whether the practice is of modern origin. Some of the local people who answered his query said that it was to keep out the spirits just as did the palm-shaped cactus stalks. Others said that it was the same idea as the spreading of line powder in and around toilets in the missionary college and the hospital.

784 751 The third measure[1] is the automatic taboo on many varieties of food stuff. Food which is normally served in the streets and eaten cold, like pea-curd and bean-custard (not bean-curd) are not eaten at all because, the local people say, "they make the abdomen cold." For the same reason, any vegetable or fruit which is customarily regarded as "cold-producing" is also tabooed. The list of tabooed foods is as follows: potato (the price of which dropped all of a sudden from three dollars to fifty cents a catty), string beans, turnip, all sour fruit (plums in particular, because they are in season), confections, new wheat flour, fresh meat, fish (the pious will not touch any meat or fish, even preserved [12]). Others are less stringent in their

(12) When a woman goes to prayers on one of the regular ritual days she will wash herself from hair to toe and will not touch meat or fish at all for the day. Not even to handle it.

[1] [against epidemic cholera -- Analyst]

observances), pumpkin, egg plant, etc. It will be noted that this list includes practically all fresh fruit and vegetables from the field except cabbage, garlic, pepper and a few others.(13) 784 751

The fourth measure concerns the washing of clothes and of food stuffs. As stated before, the area is full of streams formed by water running down the mountain side before reaching the lake. As West Town is some distance from the foot of the mountains, most of these streams have run through several villages before reaching West Town. In these streams practically all villagers and residents in West Town wash their clothes, food stuffs before cooking or eating raw, and everything else that wants washing. Since all the villages through which these streams run use them for such purposes, the great danger involved is very apparent. When the epidemic becomes evident, practically all families automatically abstain from using these streams. 744 784

When asked about the reason the answer is that the measure is to clean up the area for the gods, because by washing clothes and food in these streams the people will have polluted the water which runs down from the Ts'ang mountains (where the God of Mountains resides) to Er Lake (where the God Dragon and his family reside).

This same reason -- to clean up the area for gods - is also applied to the next two things. One is the sweeping up of dirt and the prohibition of animal soil in the streets; the other is that each family heaps up a dump of twigs, etc., in front of its portal and starts a thick smoke which lasts for hours every day. Normally, as we have seen, nobody cares to sweep the streets even within the area in which his own walls extend. The dirt heaps up or scatters about anywhere and the excrements left by animals passing through the streets are only collected by farmers for their store of fertilizer. Now animals are simply not allowed within the confines of the town. 203 744 784

This prohibition is announced in two types of notices: one by the local police bureau and another by the officers in charge of the various prayer meetings. The former puts up a set of notices everywhere in the town which reads as follows:

"Letting loose animals, or throwing about night soil or dirt, is strictly forbidden. The offender will be prosecuted without leniency."

Signed (seal), the Experimental Police Bureau, West Town.
(14th of May, 1942)

The second type of notices appears in every village or section of the town where a cholera prayer meeting is taking place. They usually read as follows:

"Pray and Abstain with all Earnestness,
"Dirt and Uncleanliness are Forbidden."

The smoking dumps in front of family portals are made of twigs, grass, 744 784

(13) The word "cold" here used has little to do with the temperature as in the West. It refers to an inner coldness which is only defined traditionally. Dr. Shen (F.P.), professor of medicine in the National Yunnan University, says that what the traditional Chinese call "cold" food is probably diarrhea-causing food.

744 moxa leaves, barley stalks, pine needles and some dirt swept up from the area
784 in front of each family portal. When the twigs are lit the flame is stopped from shooting out by the other materials which are usually damp. This gives a thick smoke and a kind of fragrance which permeate the air.

As stated above, this smoking and the sweeping of streets are to clean up the area, not for human habitation but for the gods and spirits. They are thus means to a spiritual rather than bodily cleanliness. That this conception has nothing to do with modern ideas of sanitation may be seen from the fact that when a family woman goes to read scriptures or pray in a temple (a practice very common and frequent among elderly women in the entire district), she washes herself clean from hair to toes and will only touch meat or fish after the visit is over. She never takes a bath otherwise. When asked, a woman says that if she is not "clean" she will offend the gods or goddesses to which she is going to pray.

751 A fifth measure is the use of amulets. While the biggest cholera prayer meeting is taking place at Area H (Center of the town), each family secures an amulet (disseminated by individuals and obtainable at many native dispensaries) and hangs it on the family portal. Then on the fourth evening of the prayer the Wen God "inspects" the entire town and its surrounding villages in a procession consisting of regular policemen, buglers, guards and priests. The guards in this procession take down the amulet from each family portal as the procession passes by and hang it one by one on a driller-like thing in the right hand of the image of the god. They are then burned with the god and the dragon boat mentioned before. These amulets have the function of catching any Wen spirit which may attempt to dash into the family home. The Wen God, who had formerly let them forth, has thus collected them back. But there are other amulets and paraphernalia on family portals. Some of the family portals carry as many as five or six amulets from different sources. Practically all of them are bought from some priest at a price. A study of the elements contained in these amulets is not in order here. Suffice it to say that many of them are reiterations of the desired object (many amulets contain the characters Chieh Chieh, or relieving the disaster) while others write many times such characters as Sun, Fire, Water, Thunder, which usually represent the power to strike at evil spirits.

Following instruction of some priests, some families put one red flag on each lintel of the family portal as well. On both flags are written, "The heavenly priest protect us, diseases are wiped out", or "Fatal disasters vanish". The same ideas are then written on other pieces of red paper and posted on the gates and walls. One such paper says: "The heavenly priest is here, all evil spirits keep away." The families in one village particularly (Area P) hang straw dragons in addition to red flags of cloth on the lintels of their family portals. These, the villagers say, are for scaring away the Wen spirits, too. The presence of straw dragons in this village and their absence in other villages are interesting. It may be because this village is closer to the lake where the dragon god resides.

757 All these are individual measures of relief or precaution, but the most common and popular form of individual action is to secure "medicine" or "fairy water" from almost any source: temple, sacred spots, private individuals or dispensaries. We have seen some of the prescriptions, notices of charitable medicine, and moral advice posted for the benefit of the public. From the impressive quantity of such posters in the town and the villages and from the fact that many people secure the ready-made medicine given out

freely to applicants we may infer that such doings are not idle anthropological curiosities. We shall now mention the "Fairy Water" from a rock about ten li northwest of Tali and about thirty li away from West Town. The rock with the "water" is called Chiu Hu Ch'uan (or Nine Goddesses Spring) which is situated in a temple called Wu Wei Ssu, (or Do Nothing Temple). All informants, among them several managers of the prayer meeting at Area E, testified to the author that the rock only produced "water" when there was an epidemic and was at all other times dry. As will be clear from the table showing the order of the prayer meetings, the one at Area E occurred at about the end of the epidemic, so when the several managers spoke to the author about this "water" they also pointed out: "You see, now the illness is lessening, so the water from the spring is about finished." Nobody, of course, ever went to check up on this tale. On account of some personal difficulties the author was not able to check on it either. During the entire epidemic this water was carried to West Town on pack horses and was sold at fifty cents a cup. People say that its effectiveness (both for prevention and cure) varies, but no one says that it is useless.

One more fact is to be mentioned in this connection. At the prayer meeting in Area E, the managers (not the priests) gave expression to a novel idea which had not been seen anywhere else during the entire epidemic. The prayer meeting was held in an open square on one side of the street. There were the main altar, the middle altar and then a sort of gate with pine branches and couplets and two national flags. The street was still open to traffic, but just opposite, on the other side of the street, was built another altar-sort of structure. This was an artificial rock with tiny grottoes and elevations, "trees" and flowers in the grottoes and on the elevations: amidst its "trees" and flowers were various wooden, brass and porcelain images of gods and goddesses, (In the center was Buddha. There were two goddesses of Mercy, one wooden and the other porcelain) and dragons cut of paper. Attached to this structure were also several decorative couplets, and arches cut of paper-wrappers of fruit tins. The whole thing was evidently a hotch potch and formless collection created through a moment's fancy on the part of the worshippers. The interesting thing that concerns us here is the incense burner in front of the structure. From inside of this burner a continuous thin line of water welled up and shot into the air before falling into a receptacle on the ground. The device was perfectly simple. It was produced by fixing in the incense burner a tube which led to a barrelful of water on the second floor of the building behind the artificial rock. The water pressure is enough to produce this fountain-like effect. This "fountain" went on during the whole time of the prayer meeting and provided a spectacle for many curious men, women and children. The author was amazed by the following fact at first: One old woman approached the "fountain" with her young grandson. She took out a small cup from her pocket, received a cupful of the water and then drank some of it before letting her grandson finish it. She frowned a little after drinking the water. On being asked about the reason for drinking the stuff she said it was a "fairy water" and could guard its drinker against the epidemic!! The author afterwards noticed more women doing the same. Frankly, at first the author thought that the local people took a playful rather than serious attitude towards this rock structure with its midget fountain, but after observing behavior such as the above he has to modify his first impression. The similarity of the psychological background between the incense ash as medicine from certain temples (a common practice in the culture) is manifest. In a culture where a single almighty deity is inconceivable, any shrine put up by anyone enjoys a spiritual prestige unknown to the modern West.

C. Modern Precautions

751 744 625 The author wishes to make it clear that most of the measures stated above[1] do not happen one after another but rather more or less at about the same time. While all these traditional doings are going on a number of precautions of a distinctly "modern" flavor also come into play. We shall mention first the work of the police. As we have seen, the police put up a set of notices prohibiting dirt and animal soil from being left in the streets from the beginning of the epidemic. They also prohibit the sale of food like pea-curd served cold in the streets. These measures may be based upon a modern idea of prevention of the epidemic, but their behavior in other ways makes the observer feel uncertain about their ideological position. For the police do prohibit not only the above, they also prohibit the sale of raw fruit in the streets, and forcibly moved the meat market from its usual site in Area H or the center of the town, to a place just outside of the town's east gate. There is no other explanation for this measure than that at Area H a prayer meeting took place, and all dealings having to do with killing of life have to be kept away. Not only this, during the entire prayer meeting at Area H, the police force sent two special sentries to keep spectators from coming too close to the altar. And in the Wen God's nocturnal "inspection" of the town and villages a troupe of regular policemen in full equipment formed a part of the procession. Of course, for these duties the policemen were paid extra, and there is a Chinese proverb which says that money can move gods. Still, the position of the police force in this regard is not easy to define. The government of the sub-district (Chen Kung So) takes some steps also. One of their steps is a notice in some villages prohibiting the sale of "raw and cold food stuffs" or of "meat and fish". The other is a joint effort with the local middle school. The two bodies sent out inspectors to all families in the town and many surrounding villages to inspect the cleanliness of the houses and courtyards. Then the inspectors wrote with chalk on the gates of the families "clean", "very clean", "not clean", as the impression might be. They did not, however, take any further steps about the houses that were marked "not clean". The Chen Chang (head of the sub-district) stationed in West Town, enjoyed the admiring remarks passed on his calligraphy by the many spectators.

751 203 The second kind of modernized precaution comes from private individuals. We have seen that in one native medical prescription the advertiser advises those who are not yet attacked to take cholera injection. How that advice came to be combined with a traditional prescription is yet to be conjectured, but the modern nature of the advice is undeniable. Similar advice is not lacking. One kind of poster says that the cholera epidemic is caused by the careless handling of patients' stools and vomited stuff so that other people are infected; and advises people to take care of all vomited stuff and all excretion, including urine, of the patients by burial underground or by burning. The last words in these posters are "Don't drink unboiled water." By the fact that the authors of these posters regard the urine of patients as infectious we may be certain that they are not thoroughly acquainted with modern ideas about cholera yet, but we have to assume that they undoubtedly know something about them. The interesting thing, however, is that at least one author of these posters is later found to be an officer in one of the cholera prayer meetings and had contributed a small sum toward its cost.

751 743 203 The third type of modern precaution comes from the hospital, the missionary college, and the local middle school. As stated before, as soon as cases of cholera were discovered in the local hospital, the college authorities

[1] [against epidemic cholera -- Analyst]

arranged anti-choleric injections for all their faculty members and students, and advised especially the latter to refrain from careless eating. The attitude of these groups is that of modern science. In the meantime, the local hospital and the middle school put forth large notices advising the populace to take injections. The hospital at first gave any applicant free injections on the premises. Later on its authority sent out nurses to give free injections in the streets to facilitate matters, and made one injection an adequate dosage. The wife of a professor in the college who was a nurse before marriage also undertook to help and injected a number of local people. The local middle school and normal school posted large bills everywhere in the town. These bills were meant to be educative and were very detailed. One kind of pictorial posters shows the following: On one side are several street food stands retailing sweets, pea-curd, etc., swarming with flies. Several customers are seen eating these foods. On the other side of the poster are several people enjoying an open-air toilet, and several others vomiting. Flies also swarm on their stools and vomited stuff. The caption below the picture reads: "These flies in both places are the same flies and carry cholera germs from the one to the other."

Another kind of poster shows in large pictures the structure of a fly, and of the cholera germ, with detailed and scientific explanatory notes on how these germs may be communicated and by what means such communication may be prevented.

A third kind of poster stresses the absolute effectiveness of the anti-choleric injection. It reads: "In West Town, the mortality rate from cholera alone is now about two in every hundred. But all the 1,400 members of the middle school, the normal school and the primary school have been injected and have not had a single case of cholera infection among them."

A number of these posters were posted side by side with the notices and announcements of a number of cholera prayer meetings.

It will be in order here to put in a note on who among the local populace have taken the injection and what ideas they have about it. On account of the author's limited time and financial support in the research he was not able to make as he had desired a large-scale inquiry on all local people who have taken the injection. Among these he has personally talked to only about thirty. These include two carpenters of about thirty-five years of age, one fisherman of thirty-one years of age, three cloth dealers, one of whom did business in Burma, a Chen Chang (or head of the sub-district), a member of the gentry, about 55 years of age, a former primary school teacher in a village (now a trader), five students from the local middle school, a cook who runs the "bachelors mess" for faculty members of the missionary college, one woman of thirty-eight years of age, and others. At the outset it may be stated that most of these took an active role in, or contributed materially to, one or another of the cholera prayer meetings. For example, old Mr. N, the member of the gentry who contributed two hundred fifty dollars to the prayer meeting in the street where his family lives, two hundred dollars to another which took place in a street still further off, was a manager in one prayer meeting and a director in another. The author met him in the prayer meeting that took place at Area E where he was a manager and had a long talk with him. He showed the author his left arm and said that all his children and grandchildren had been injected at the hospital. He expressed to the author his firm belief in the efficacy of injection: but later on in the conversation he said that even after injection, one had better appease the spirits a bit. "Who knows which

751
757

spirit one may have offended unintentionally after all," was his conclusion.

751
757
124

A local boy by the name of Yang is the author's friend. He is eighteen years of age and a third-year junior middle school pupil. He was the tea-server at the prayer meeting in Area I and was most enthusiastic when the author inquired about the rituals of this prayer meeting. He had two free injections in the local hospital. He told the author that the hospital only gave one injection and that he knew the college infirmary gave three. He believed that the hospital was being economical and that one injection alone would be ineffective. So he insisted on having two, by telling the hospital people that he would pay for the second one if he were refused it. He thought that injection was the only way to prevent one from getting cholera, but working in the prayer meeting gave him a good time. "Besides," he said, "My parents want me to be at the prayer meeting."

The trader (formerly primary school teacher) mentioned in the above list, lives in a village south of the town and is thirty-six years of age. His mother is over seventy, and he has a wife and three children. His father recently died of cholera. At the time of the author's interview with him, the cholera prayer meeting in his village had just been over. All of his family members except his wife were injected. He firmly believed in the efficacy of the injection and told the author the following story to indicate the strength of his belief: At first his third son would not have the injection in spite of his persuasion. Then the boy became sick. The man then took the boy for an injection and some modern medicine. The boy was well at once. Paradoxically, he knows also that the injection is useless on a person after the cholera attack has already begun. He contributed fifty national dollars to the cause of the local prayer meeting and was one of its many officers.

Further detailed enumeration of all the thirty more cases is not necessary here. Though the cases studied are small in number and therefore from them a definite conclusion cannot be drawn, one or two impressions may be given. The author's primary impression from such a study is that the injection is another device against the epidemic, not the only device or even the most important one; it is a measure to be taken together with the other means of cure or prevention. To rely upon it alone, or any one thing alone, is thoroughly unwise. The cholera prayers are a thing that the community has always had and are a matter of course. For this reason the author found most of the children who (whether in school or not) were about the various prayer meetings had been injected, but most adults had not been injected. The parents do not mind having their children subjected to this novel device, but as for themselves, that is often a different question. It varies more with circumstances. The cook who with his wife runs the bachelors' mess for faculty members of the missionary college allowed his children and wife to take three injections at the college infirmary, but he himself absolutely refused to have anything to do with the latter after the first dose. He said "It is too painful." His wife went for the injections only under pressure of some of the members of the mess, who threatened to discharge her if she refused. She is usually more pleasant than her husband.

Very few local women have had the injection. The ones whom the author had the opportunity of asking mostly also replied, "It is too painful." The woman who is included in the above list of injected persons is a widow and goes to meetings of temple prayers and other similar functions regularly, but she is also very inclined toward the outsider's ways of life. She owns a part of the house which is the Women's Dormitory of the missionary college

and knows practically all the girls. She is particularly friendly with some of them and takes pride in her new friendships. Her taking of the injection has nothing to do with her old belief which remains as firm as before. [124] 751 757

In general, if not for special circumstances, the attitude of the adult population towards anti-choleric injection is not yet one of clear tolerance. The answer to the outsider's persuasion is often, "It is too painful. This is an easy refuge, which shows that the speaker in fact does not believe in its usefulness at all; for when there is need (as when a heavy illness like jaundice has befallen a person), most local men or women will not hesitate to allow native practitioners or quacks to insert long silver needles, whether in the cardiac or in the abdomenal region.

But even the priests and their assistants may not be against the injection as a personal practice. During the epidemic an assistant priest (in ordinary dress) applied for an injection at one of the stations. The man in charge of the injection asked him what "methods" he thought most effective in preventing cholera. The priest replied that he did not definitely know. The man then told him that there were three ways, as follows: (1) to drink unboiled water, (2) to read the scriptures and pray to the spirits, and lastly (3) to take an injection. Knowing that the speaker meant to be sarcastic, the priest became angry and beat a hasty retreat without the injection. 751 757 578 184

This incident was related to the author by a friend who said that he was there when it occurred. The author cannot vouch for its absolute accuracy in all details, but if it did occur as related it shows once again the intrinsic and indiscriminate desire to rely upon as many measures of safeguard as possible. But it reveals also the well known attitude of modern medical officers towards traditional ways of life. This is an extreme attitude of ignorance and intolerance. In West Town during the epidemic there were three persons with full modern medical training. The man in charge of the college infirmary is an American surgeon from Harvard Medical School and a medical missionary of the American Episcopal Church. The superintendent of the hospital is an M.D. from a provincial medical college and considered to be very well experienced through years of practice. The third is a woman, who was also connected with the local hospital. She was trained in Peiping Union Medical College. She belongs to the "Little Flock" and says that she works in the backward place only because of her mission in converting more people to her faith. None of them knows much, or is even interested, about the traditional ways of solving life's problems in the locality. The lady is most zealous in her work of conversion. She could not talk to patients or anybody else for more than five minutes without touching upon the other party's wrong faith. Nothing else is right but her faith and her way of life. The superintendent of the hospital is an earnest soul, serious and meticulous in his practice and is genuinely interested in his role as a reliever of physical distress. He asks no more questions when his medical procedure is over. To him, the local anti-choleric prayer meetings are the absurdity of absurdities.

The American missionary was born in China and has been in China for most of his life. He takes some interest in Min Chia customs, but more in reading the limited published material than in actual contact with the local people. He speaks some Chinese and shows an amazing ability in learning the Chinese calligraphy. From what the author has seen of him and of his interests, he cannot say that the man really aims at a thorough understanding of

751 757 578 184 the customary ways of the people among whom he is working. He knows patches here and there and has a way of jumping from one question rapidly to another, so that the questioned will usually have no difficulty in seeing the ephemeral nature of his interest in the things he has asked about. He and family live in a temple where one of the prayer meetings took place and lasted for three days and nights. His sister told the author that during the nights they (the family) asked them to stop the noise again and again in vain. Now, granted it is very unpleasant to have that amount of noise in the courtyard when one is trying to sleep, the objectors evidently had never given a moment's thought to the possibility that some villagers might decide to go to the missionary's church on a Sunday morning to ask the preacher to stop talking. (The author cannot tell whether the actual asking them to "stop the noise" took the crude form the lady described. The assumption here is that the medical missionary and his family did ask them in some way to stop the noise.)

The author has described the attitude of these three medical persons not with any intention of contempt or even any personal disapproval, but merely by way of showing how some representatives of modern medical science react in a rustic culture. And the matter extends way beyond these three medical practitioners. They show how very little difference there is between such an attitude and the general attitude of missionaries and other religionists towards the traditional ways and doings in any rustic culture in which they are working. The religionist's attitude may be illustrated by the public expression of the husband of the lady doctor in West Town. He and his wife both belong to the "Little Flock" and are the moving spirits of the group. He is a jewel merchant from overseas and speaks fluent English. He expressed himself very strongly in public regarding the epidemic: "If one can trust God (by prayer) and take precautions (medical) at the same time, then all is well and good. If however one has to choose between the two, I trust God and prayers alone." He takes no injection and condemns the local people thus: "What is wrong with the West Town folks is that they do not trust God nor take precautions."

D. The Gods have Answered the Appeal

757 813 A few days before the last large-scale prayer meeting in Area Z took place, rain began to fall. The general temperature suffered a sudden drop. During this prayer meeting the sky remained cloudy and rain was sporadic. From the day after this meeting was over torrential rain fell continuously for a week and the temperature dropped further. As the optimum temperature for choleric bacteria is somewhere around 27°C. and the temperature must not be too far below that when carried from one agent to another, the epidemic was thus over.(14) Another piece of irrefutable evidence of the efficacy of the main body of the traditional ways in dealing with Wen (epidemic) was thus firmly established in the memory of the local people. No local person ever mentioned a word about the drop in temperature and its relation to the behavior of the epidemic, nor was there any great discussion of the efficacy of the prayer meetings, of the taboos on food and on dirt, or of the native prescriptions. Most of these are taken as a matter of course and therefore not matters for reflection. Even the modern injection attracts no more

(14) "The association of high relative humidity with high temperature, accompanied by intermittent rains, forms the most favorable atmosphere for the development of the disease, and the presence of endemic centers from which epidemics may at any time spring, must also be accepted." (Manson's Tropical Diseases, edited by Philip H. Manson-Bahr, 1935, p. 439.) Also, "The bacillus grows best in alkaline media at a temperature of from 30°C. to 40°C. Growth is arrested below 15°C. or above 42°C. A temperature over 50°C. kills the bacillus." (Ibid., p. 440.)

CHAPTER VI

POSSIBILITIES FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF SCIENTIFIC MEDICINE INTO A RUSTIC COMMUNITY

751
578

Conscious efforts in seeking to propagate modern medicine and health measures in the various backward countries so far run along two lines: (a) the "dictatorial method" and (b) the "democratic method". These two terms are the author's own adoption and have nothing to do with their current usages.

(a) The "Dictatorial Method".

The first method is resorted to by governments which assume the role of Dieu Protecteur and require the people to follow their instructions and legislation with a minimum of, or no, explanation at all. The Yunnan Provincial Government tried this method. A friend of the author's, Mr. Chang Tze-ju, visited Yu Hsi Hsien, Yunnan, during a time when the periodic markets failed to take place. Upon inquiry he found that the provincial health department was enforcing compulsory inoculation against typhoid and cholera, and the villagers evaded it by refusing to come to the market altogether. The Japanese authorities in Occupied China often enough have tried this method. And the British rulers in Africa have frequently required the clearing of bushes with compulsory labor or moving away whole villages in the tzetze fly area in order to exterminate the sickness of which the fly is the cause, or resorted to other measures equally drastic.

000

Are such measures fruitful? Yes and no. All such efforts undoubtedly achieve some results (the authorities in question may always be able to show figures of increase in hospital beds or equipment or of the number treated). Certain sanitary measures, such as the disinfection of water sources or the clearing away of tzetze fly bushes, are best done with some exercise of governmental power, but such efforts so far have neither secured a really widespread cooperation on the part of the peoples nor taken a deep root in the indigenous cultures. The peoples on whom such measures are imposed may decide to evade them, as some Chinese have done. They may retard the intended progress so that even enthusiastic ethnographers like Professor and Mrs. Thurnwald have to admit, after over thirty years of European administration and missionary work, that:

> "Both ways, those of old Africa and of modern Europe, are tried alternatively" (Op. cit., p. 98); or again, "Although the activities may not be fully understood, the health service has shattered the influence, of the sorcerer and magician. Of course, not entirely." (Ibid., p. 98)

In Samoa, where "more than a quarter-century of continuous and persistent work with the staff and resources, made possible through the cooperation of the Navy Department (U.S.A.)," has been carried on, the results are, as we have seen in two quotations, far from satisfactory and have caused Professor Keesing to observe that,

> "The first enthusiastic assaults of the latter (modern medicine and public health measures) have made some headway, but the traditional forces, strong enough in Western society, have been little or very impermanently shaken. For the timebeing, therefore, there has been at many points a compromise.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 little stream in the middle of a beautiful forest, with abundant firewood and grass.

So far we had been very little troubled with bad weather, but we were now to experience the inconveniences of marching in snow. The next day we reached the top of the Ya-lung-Yangtze watershed at 15,300 feet. The snow already lay several inches deep, and in the afternoon it began to fall again with the accompaniment of a bitterly cold wind. The road still kept up on the ridge at an average height of 15,000 feet, and I persevered in hopes it would soon begin to descend and bring us into a warmer climate.

By six o'clock we had not got perceptibly lower, but luckily one of the guides knew of a deserted hut a little way off the path, and this we reached just at dark. The roof was full of holes, but there were dry corners to be found, and with this and two tents we all managed to get some sort of shelter. We were able to light fires and cook with melted snow, and the snow was not quite deep enough to prevent the mules grazing, so on the whole things might have been worse. My Indian followers, some of them men from the warmer parts of India, must have felt the cold keenly, but neither of cold nor of anything else did any of them ever complain.

Loading the mules with fingers numb from cold was rather a long operation the next morning, but once on the move things began to look more cheerful. In a couple of hours' marching we got out of the snow, and after 12 miles of continuous downhill reached Lei-lung, the first village we had seen since leaving Mi-li—an uninhabited stretch of nearly 40 miles.

The sun which shone brightly on our morning's march was very welcome after the dismal weather of the day before, but the glare which it caused from the snow had the unfortunate effect of giving several of my men snow-blindness. They suffered no pain from it, but everything looked dark to them. I had fortunately foreseen this contingency, and had in Yün-nan Fu bought several pairs of coloured spectacles which I now served out all round.

•751 In sunny weather with snow on the ground it would be almost impossible to do a march in Tibet without some protection to the eyes. The Tibetans often use a sort of

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

•751 veil of horse-hair for this purpose, and they eagerly buy up the spectacles which Chinese traders occasionally bring in for sale. I once suffered slightly from snow-blindness myself, having imprudently started on a march without my coloured glasses. The effect was to make everything look purple, but it passed off after a few hours inside a house.

000 On the 23rd we still went on downhill, for a mile or two, to a river which here flows at the surprisingly low level of 6,200 feet. It is crossed by a bridge 50 yards long, made with layers of beams stuck out one over the other from both banks, with a span of planks in the middle, resting on the ends of these beams. This seems the common type of bridge in this part of the country, and I have seen several similar ones in Yün-nan. After passing the river, we crossed a spur and camped for the night at the little village of Tzŭ-lo.

The next day an unusually easy road brought us to Wei-jih, where with much difficulty I bought some maize for the mules and flour for the men. From here two roads branch off, both leading, they say, to Chung-tien. I took the more northerly of the two, as being the more likely to keep me longer on unsurveyed ground, away from Ryder's route from Yung-ning.

On the 25th we reached Ran-da, a very small village, where wheat was the only grain to be got for the mules. I should have halted here for the night if I had known what the road in front was like, but as not a soul in Ran-da knew a word of Chinese it was a little difficult to get information.

As it was, the day being still young, we pushed on. The next two miles entailed a climb of 2,750 feet, and at nightfall we found ourselves with exhausted mules forced to camp in a place so steep that one side of my tent was three feet higher than the other.

It began to snow soon after dark and went on steadily all night, so that there were several inches on the ground by daylight. The thermometer stood at 27° at seven o'clock in the morning—not extreme cold certainly, but quite enough to be very unpleasant when camping out in a snowstorm.

The two guides we had brought from Ran-da had had

During my stay there was an old Chinese physician in Ma tang, who for more than a lifetime had traveled through here each year and who was well-known among young and old. He was a smallpox specialist and on his travels applied the old Chinese method of variolation. In small bamboo tubes he kept human pock lymph with which he "inoculated" or, more accurately, infected, all children up to 12 years that were brought to him, for 300 cash. He put a few drops of his liquid into each child's nose whereupon the children fell ill of smallpox (variola, or, in the native language, dabram) after four or six days and had up to one or two dozen pock efflorescences on their faces or on their chests. He always got his lymph back on his journeys by pricking open individual pustules before they dried up, and gathering the contents. He chose sick persons who had as few eruptions as possible, but beside that he thinned out the lymph with water. The man's opinion was that by means of this dilution he had first of all succeeded in preventing the severe pox among his patients and that they recovered within a week. I was told that throughout Kin tschuan this variolation method is practiced and that if only part of the children in a village are "inoculated" and the rest become infected without having been treated by the specialist, then the ones who were not vaccinated had severe cases of smallpox, a true variola; furthermore, that the variolation caused much severer symptoms among adults than among children under 12.

My long-drawn-out wait for the messengers of the Li fan yamen was interrupted by several excursions to the nearest mountains, whenever the weather permitted. As a rule it rained many hours every day, if not all day and all through the night. The time of the summer solstice means the rainy season for the entire eastern Tibet, especially for the southern portions. For days the sky is covered with rain clouds; and scraps of fog, the worst enemies of topographers, hang low in the valleys. If I climbed south from my campsite up the Tsche kou (eat-bitterness) Pass and from there to the nearest mountains I reached the flat mountain formation a little beyond 4,250 meters the base, from which rose the row of peaks with their slopes of rock fragments and isolated snow patches. I stood on meadows there which were smoothly sloped, broken with swamps and dotted with rounded knolls (roches moutonnées). But already below 4,000 meters, at 3,700 meters, the valley floors widened and were more trough-shaped than at the market place of Ma tang, which still lies wedged in, causing cold in winter and lack of sun, about which the inhabitants complain bitterly. Beginning with 3,700 meters most of